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AUTHOR Greenberg, Stanley B.
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ABSTRACT

The inner city aggregations of blacks, Appalachian whites, and Mexicans are not simply the focal points for short-term instability or remedial governmental programs: they are the first native American urban poor. The poor neighborhoods of America's inner city are a result of three great population movements. One originated in the Atlantic Coastal Plain, the Black Belt and Delta regions of the South, a second in the coal fields of the Cumberland Plateau, and the third in the populous elevated plains of central Mexico. These three areas are superficially distinctive. Yet certain basic social relationships dominate these three areas. These disparate populations all barely subsisted. In each case rural marginality was exacerbated by the encroachment of large landholders and by the harrassment of their legal and political instruments. The resulting economic marginality and dependency provide the context for the economic and political crises that decimated these areas. It is doubtful that these poor populations would have come to the city if it had not represented hope and escape. The image of the city was actively planted in people's minds by a variety of sources. The poor of five surveyed neighborhoods are subjected to a similar pattern of encirclement, intrusion, and abandonment. These present difficulties emerge from a shared experience with the past. (Author/JM)

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W3-5 THE ETIOLOGY OF POOR NEIGHBORHOODS

by

Stanley B. Greenberg

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Poor neighborhoods created newspaper headlines in the nineteen-sixties--the riots in Watts, Detroit and Newark, the rent strikes in Harlem and Boston's South End, the violence endemic to all urban ghettos--prompting some of America's most imaginative endeavors in planned social change. We witnessed the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, the Mobilization for Youth Program, the "grey areas" program, the "War on Poverty," culminating in hundreds of community action programs, legal assistance offices and Head Start centers. The Federal government instituted well publicized investigations of the national malaise, dealing substantially or entirely with the deteriorating inner city. Reports were prepared for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

But with the cooling of the ghetto fires and with the institutionalization of community action programs, the air of crisis began to fade. Public officials no longer felt compelled to wage war on the blight and misery of the inner city or to decry the indifference to its deterioration. Of greater salience was the rising cost of meat, polluted skies, "forced busing," and the war in Vietnam. The agony of being poor and the quality of life in poor neighborhoods had become irrelevant for the politicians and voters of the seventies. The "urban crisis" began to recede from the headlines and from the chronicles of historians and social scientists.

The difficulty, all along, in understanding poor neighborhoods has been this air of crisis--the need for immediate change, the demand for law and order--that has surrounded them. Poor neighborhoods gained sociological and historical prominence because of ahistorical factors that have proved ephemeral, leaving us with little more than the ruin of the riots--the leveled blocks and abandoned stores--as a basis for analysis. Limited considerations of this sort have led some to the

facile conclusion that "if these inner districts...were to suddenly disappear, along with the people who live in them, there would be no serious urban problems worth talking about."[3]

But the inner city aggregations of blacks, Appalachian whites and Mexicans are not simply the final points for short-term locational utility or remedial governmental programs. These groups are the first native Americans other than Indians. Today's inner city neighborhoods are not the product of a potato famine in Ireland, land enclosures in rural England, unsuccessful political rebellions in Germany, pogroms in Russia or the extreme poverty of Southern Italy. The poor neighborhoods of the mid-twentieth century were created by events largely controlled by this country under conditions nurtured in the rural country side. The blacks who fled the black belt counties of the South, the whites who moved reluctantly out of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia, the Mexicans who occupied the central plain of Mexico and the small towns of Texas and New Mexico lived under strikingly similar conditions, left the land at approximately the same time for many of the same reasons, and moved to neighborhoods suffering the same sorts of economic and political pressures.

The obsessive regard for headline events rather than for history or process has only obscured the role of poor neighborhoods in the most basic social changes of this century. To understand the formation and development of poor neighborhoods is to grasp a fundamental historical process, reflecting a pattern for the exploitation of rural labor and the imperatives of industrial growth.

I Never Dreamt Population Movements

The poor neighborhoods of America's poorest city are a result of three great population movements. The originators are the Atlantic Coastal Tribe, the Black Belt and Delta regions of the South, i.e. a period in the mid-Nineteenth-century Florida of the Cache Land Platform, and the U.S. in the previous Nineteenth-century Mexico.[2] It is against this background--millions of migrant persons moving to urban centers--that we begin to appreciate past neighborhoods, not as "problems," but as the end products of a dynamic epoch. We will not understand life in poor neighborhoods, or racial politics, unless we appreciate the experience and the history that created them.

The black population of the United States remained relatively stationary during the half century following emancipation, confined for the most part to a belt stretching across central South Carolina, i.e. Georgia and Alabama, the Atlantic Coastal Plain and the Mississippi delta. From a time to time there occurred the migrants to the cities of the North. Several went to New York or Philadelphia, others to Chicago or Detroit. But mainly did Blacks remain. Migrant north from New York City or Portland went those Chicago. Between World War I, the even accelerated this movement, with some out of every ten Blacks persons in the South moving to the former slave states. This figure's had changed little since 1870.[3]

World War I drove millions of Blacks into their northward rise to the rural South. The first evidence of systematic decline in the southern Black population occurred in Alabama and Mississippi in during the 1940s. If more began to leave for the North in other portions of the United, but in most cases, the exodus was not sufficiently massive to offset the natural increase in population. By the

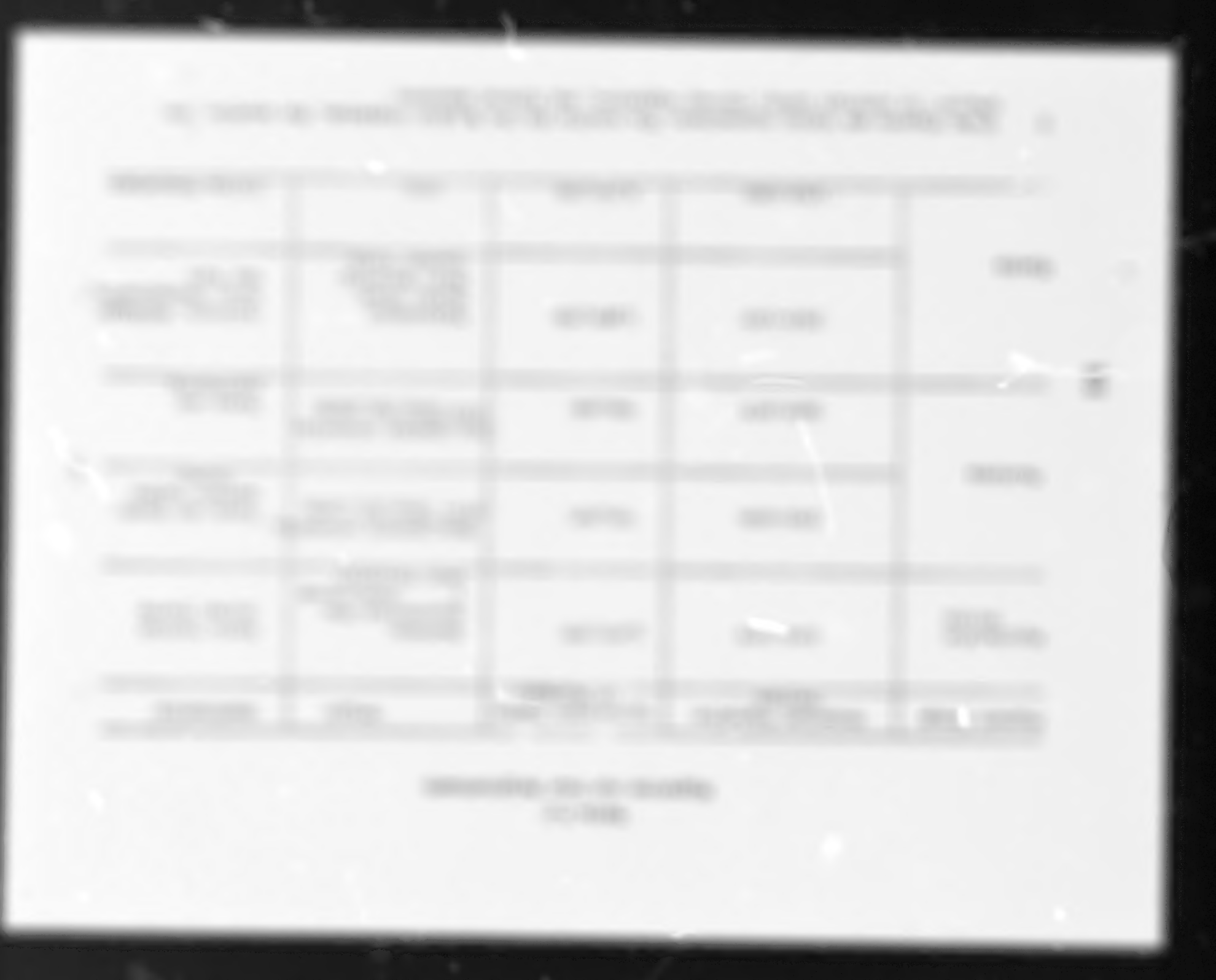
to Americans settlements. Their extent into this country was unlimited yet by the healthy industry of possessions, but by American territorial expansion, economic risk and treaty agreements.

This basic antagonism occasioned, however, was counteracted by the basic attitude of Anglo settlements to Indian and Territories, and Americans small and unsophisticated. By the turn of the century, and only significant Mexican Colonization since were in the interior of United States among the vast land expansion the United States from Mexico.[27]

The waiting territory of the ancient Mexican possessions, unknown to a small portion by geographic and economic drift, became a peculiar experience that during the first seven decades of this century. Large numbers of Mexicans moved to south the Rio Grande-systematic the creation of Protestants, Tejanos[28] cities and Mexican-American area, eventually, for the impoverished agriculturists, maximum exploitation and wrong power in the United States.[29] They arrest brought El Paso to southern New Mexico and northern Arizona, brought the Rio Grande River Valley to southern Texas, and to Tucson in southern Arizona. Small in this period, they served also Texarkana.[30]

The first major wave of Mexican immigration (1911-1914) coincident with the Mexican Revolution, drew most of the immigrants moved to Texas. Of the 103,393 Mexicans living in the United States in 1910, more than half resided in Texas. The survey has already major population movement in the immediate consulting present a half million engineers-nearly as many Mexicans went to California as migrant to the more prosperous areas of Texas and New Mexico.[31]

Very early in this experience it became apparent, despite the association of Mexican labor with agriculture and mining, that the migrants were necessary for the cities. Where large numbers sought work in the towns the Spanish "Colo-



Plantations prospered in the fertile soil of central North Carolina, central and southwestern Georgia and the Mississippi Delta.[29] But their need for extensive labor necessitated the importation of black slaves, most of whom did not prosper. After the Civil War, large landholders adjusted to the termination of "forced labor" by parcelling out the land to tenants or croppers while maintaining a system of unified management.[30] The system of control changed as a result, but the bare subsistence existence of the black farm workers or their ties to the land were not substantially altered.

Black farm workers, as well as many whites, were bound to the plantations of the Black Belt through ingenious systems for renumeration. Sharecropping was the most common pattern throughout the South, especially in Georgia and Mississippi.[31] It stipulated that the farm worker (the cropper) operate under strict supervision, with no control over the crops, and with only a share of the crop as payment. Share tenants were required to provide almost everything but the land and pay a portion of the crop as rent.[32] Blacks were kept in a dependent state by the close supervisory system--usually involving the ringing of bells at the beginning and end of each working day[33] and a pattern of intimidation[34]--and by the system of credit indispensible to survival during the long growing season.[35] Frequently, the sharecropper had nothing left from his crop after settling his accounts, or, more often, had just enough credit to get through the winter months. Moreover, a tenant could not move to another farm without settling his debts in full.[36]

The marginality and dependence of sharecroppers were exacerbated by the risks of cotton and tobacco production that fell disporportionately upon them: their income was virtually dependent on the yield and the market price. During the Depression, sharecroppers faired badly, particularly those living in the Black Belt and lower Delta. Predictably, the migrations beginning during World War II drew most heavily on these sharecroppers.[37]

"The Cumberland Plateau," Stewart Udall wrote, is a "mountainous region of flattopped ridges and steep-walled valleys, richly endowed by nature with dense forests, winding rivers, abundant game, loamy soils, and thick veins of coal.[38] It bears little resemblance to the elevated plains of central Mexico or to the flat expanse of cotton fields in the deep South. While most of the Appalachian people came to the United States as indentured servants for planters on the southern coast, they had long since shed the mantle of slavery and settled in the interior mountains of Virginia and Kentucky.[39] They were frontier people, crude and independent. Beyond what Toynbee has called their "poverty, squalor and ill health,"[40] their condition had little in common with the peonage of rural blacks and Mexicans.

Their story, however, begins with the trees. Late in the nineteenth century, large corporations were organized to exploit the thick forests on the plateau. They diligently maneuvered among the overlapping land titles of the highlanders, fostering a process where timber rights passed out of the mountains into the hands of "foreign" investors. The land that had supported the independence of the Appalachian mountaineer for so long was now one step away from his control, and the trees that had protected his frontier were now reduced to "the pitiful remnant of cull and second-growth timber."[41]

It was the large veins of coal, however, that ultimately destroyed the highlander's independence. Coal companies, including such industrial giants as the Inland Steel Corporation, the Consolidation Coal Company, International Harvester Corporation, Elkhorn Coal Corporation and the United States Coal and Coke Company, claimed the minerals of the plateau, leaving the highlanders with the illusion that they still controlled the surface of the land. By 1910, much of that land--three-fourths of the remaining timber, and more than 85 percent of the

minerals--belonged to nonresidents.[42] When the highlanders attempted to prevent the coal companies from turning the surface into rubble, the courts held:

> I deeply sympathize with you and sincerely wish I could rule for you. My hands are tied by the rulings of the Court of Appeals and under the law I must follow its decisions. The truth is that about the only rights you have on your land is to breathe on it and pay taxes. For all practical purposes the company that owns the minerals in your land owns all the other rights pertaining to it. [43]

With the corporations in virtually full control of the land and with mines being sunk throughout the plateau, the highlanders turned to coal for their livelihood. By 1929, one out of every four members of the work force was employed by the coal companies. A small number of blacks were brought into the fields during the boom years, and small groups of Italians, Poles, Slovaks, and Hungarians had come earlier. But even as late as 1930, native Appalachian whites made up three-fourths of the mine employees.[44] The Cumberland Plateau and its frontiersmen were now "tied inseparably" to coal, the railroads and "the colossal industrial complex centering in Pittsburgh."[45]

Occasionally the Appalachian miners returned to the farms that had supported them at an earlier time, but for the most part, they were now controlled by outside corporations and a thorough-going system of paternalism. They often were required to live in company towns and to buy their food and supplies at company stores. Sometimes wages were paid in scrip, ensuring the entire pay check would eventually come back to company coffers. When company towns were incorporated, the coal companies invariably controlled the tax commissioner, the county judge, the council, the mayor and the police force.[46] The coal companies were assured, consequently, that taxes would not be burdensome, that the schools would not teach subversive ideas, and that the work force would remain dependent on the good graces of the company.

The marginality and dependency of rural Mexicans were also tied inseparably to the land. "There is a saying of our ancestors: 'Whoever sells his lands sells his mother,'" a New Mexico farmer declared. "Its a true saying. Land is what keeps you and me and everybody else."[47] But the land failed to keep the peasant population. Some three hundred years of Spanish dominion eroded the established system of land tenure defined by the Indians and substituted in its place a pattern of land concentration under the auspices of Spain and the Church. Alienation from the land was most pronounced in the Central Mesa region where the sedentary Indians were more vulnerable to Spanish colonization.[48] Mexican independence did not alter this pattern of land ownership. The Diaz regime continued to destory village communal lands--contesting land titles and fostering land monopolization.[49]

The process of land concentration was far more advanced in the central mesa region than in the mountainous and desert regions. For the most part, the land was carved into haciendas that dominated the small farms and often surrounded the free villages.[50] Only in the mountains were the independent free villages able to escape the encroachment of haciendas and ranchos. The majority of the rural Mexican population that lived in the central region was, by 1900, forced to live and work on these large estates.[51]

The haciendas became "feudal patrimonies" where free villagers and farmers were often transformed into peones de rango, a rural population tied to the soil on estates owned abroad. This system of domination provided the bulk of the hacienda's labor force free of charge, since many peasants were required to work "for the privilege of occupying the place," to pay a "work rental,"[52] or to exchange a day's work for a day's ration of drinking water.[53] These laborers were tied to the hacienda through debts accumulated at the hacienda stores, by money gifts received at marriages--all of which had to be repaid before a worker could move to another estate or to a free village.[54] Because the farm workers were dependent on some share of the crop for their subsistence and their ability to make good on debts, they assumed, along

with the estate owner, the risk of raising the crops. It was common practice on the *haciendas* to reserve the high risk crops for sharecropping.[55]

Yet the marginality and dependency common to these groups did not, in and of themselves, produce the population movements discussed earlier. Poverty had been characteristic of the Cumberland Plateau since its settlement, and the loss of frontier independence evolved for almost seventy-five years before the massive exodus to Ohio, Michigan and Illinois began. Southern blacks had never lived much beyond the pale of starvation and their dependency had been complete since they were wrenched from the African homelands. And even though the plight of the Mexican peasants worsened significantly during the nineteenth century, extreme marginality and dependency had been commonplace since the early days of colonization.

Economic and political crises finally forced blacks, Mexicans and Appalachian whites to reconsider living under the traditional patterns of economic marginality and dependency. Of the three regions, the central area experienced the most severe and thorough-going upheaval--one that destroyed the feudal ties to the *haciendas*, plunged the countryside into a quarter of a century of civil war, and precipitated the great Mexican migrations. The bloody Mexican Revolution of 1910 led many Mexicans to move their families and scant possessions to the border areas in Texas and New Mexico, where relative safety was assured. Many more began the trek north when *haciendo* properties were parcelled out to peasants and the free villages, and when debt peonage was abolished, thus cutting the most fundamental ties to the feudal past. While some redistribution was thereby effected[56] large numbers of peasants used their new freedom to escape the rural areas of Mexico altogether.[57]

The bloody campaigns by General Robles aimed at restoring constitutional government in rebellious provinces led to a further wrecking of the traditional rural society and to a massive depopulation.[58] Before the disturbances of the

of the twenties ended (including the UMW strike rebellion in 1927) and the religious upheavals of 1929) six million emigrants had been liberated from serfdom[39] and hundreds of thousands of these newly freed serfs and women sought refuge in the United States.[40]

The troubled mining industry created the conditions for the depopulation of the Cumberland Plateau. Depressions struck at the coal industry and the timber market as well as old industries throughout the country, forcing a large number of camps to suspend operations. In Appalachia, however, there were few alternative sources of employment. Some managers, seeking to salvage the miners from retrenchment, acted to recoup their losses at the expense of the miners: they raised checkweighman prices, lowered wages and used blacklists and "goons" to fight unionizing efforts. Violence erupted between the workers and the company agents (firearms and the local police), between union miners and those workers who resisted, between the miners and the black workers who were brought in from the South to break the union.[41]

After the war, the United Mine Workers began a series of strikes aimed, John L. Lewis declared, at making the operators "come to Jesus," and in 1927, the first major post-war recession struck at the heart of the truck mining business in Eastern Kentucky.[42] As a consequence, the six year period between 1927 and 1934 spelled financial ruin for the smaller operators and the small businesses that had grown up around the coal operations. The entrenchment of jobs was further advanced by the introduction of new technology--the "coal mole," the conveyor belt, the "shuttle buggy," and the roof-bolt[43]--that increases the coal producing capacity of the miner at the same time it reduced the demand for miners. In 1917, the coal industry was at peak production (733 million tons), though the number of miners (112,434) had fallen below that of the depression.[44] The miners that had

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III. The Lure of the Cities

It is doubtful that these poor peasantries would have come to the city [illegible] of the modern and rural [illegible] of labor and have no problem of jobs, a decent home, and freedom from oppressive authority. The city represented hope. It represented escape.

The image of the city, however, was not overwhelmingly favorable to all who came to the modern metropolis up to recent years. There lagged what anthropologists call people's minds by a mentality of villagers. In many ways, labor migrants spoke of the American deprivement apprehensions to the new industrial centers. For city newspapers that circulated in rural areas told tales of migrants who had found jobs and homes in the cities, as well as a few grisly murders and police cells. Finally, many potential migrants received letters from relatives who had already gone to the city, describing the prosperity that awaited them. Migrants and businessmen in Durango, and Mexican or Pittsburgh-area. These three streams of communications gathered the same picture: jobs, prosperity and freedom.

If the images of the black belt and the Mississippi Delta did not actually exercise that the South was cursed by them, the Chicago Defender made certain they knew. The Defender showed its business manager: "Have you stopped hard for that rent? Has you boy a Defender salesman where you work? Will they give you a square deal at least pay?"[20] The questions were rhetorical, the Defender's answer unequivocal. For its circular for northern consumption showing Southern black labor and the job were evident why that the "land of sugar," the "promised land," existed back to Chicago. With a heightened sense of urgency, the paper urged the subscribers to put down their plows before the cap of redemption passed them by and join the exodus

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small manufacturing concerns, hamburger stands, motels, automobile showrooms, etc. Tylersville Road and the city limits enclose the area on the east. The houses are small, frame, and often in need of paint. They are sometimes "substandard"--a number still have outhouses. But they are not the work of "squatters." Each house has a small yard, often converted into a marginal corn patch. And while the roads are hardly equal to those in the rest of Hamilton, they are at least paved.

To the south and east of this area are scattered homes in a similar state of disrepair, but which fall within Fairfield Township and outside the jurisdiction of Hamilton. This area is rural in tone, although the residents are very much a part of Belmont.

Scattered groups of Appalachian migrants began arriving in Belmont before World War I, responding, at least in part, to the recruiting efforts of Champion Papers. It was rumored, a Champion employee remarked, that the president of the company went into the hills of eastern Kentucky to look over the area and to talk to the highlanders. Full scale migration did not begin, however, until after 1940. Pausing only for the recession of the late fifties, migrant families came to Hamilton, sought jobs at Champion Paper, Fisher Body, Beckett Paper or other plants. They settled, for the most part, on the east bank of the Great Miami River.

Hamilton and the entire Ohio Valley region (including Cincinnati, Dayton and Middletown) have long enjoyed a reputation as an industrial center and attracted settlers from New Jersey and Pennsylvania (who came down the Ohio River through Marietta) as well as miners from Kentucky.[88] The opening of the Miami and Erie canals in the 1820's and the construction of a "hydraulic" plant on the Great Miami River fostered industrial development in Hamilton, particularly the paper mills which depended upon local timber, waterpower and water and rail transportation.[89] In 1940, almost half the work force in Hamilton was engaged in manufacturing, compared to a national average of 23 percent; in 1960, 46 percent were still employed

in industry. At least half of the industrial employment was in paper and paper products and in autobody stamping.[90]

The fate of Belmont and Hamilton are unclear. While no super highways are expected to further separate Belmont from the more affluent west bank of the river and no major interchanges are planned in Belmont, urban renewal will certainly have an impact in the next few years. A Miami University extension campus is expanding along the east bank of the Miami River and all the houses in Peck's Addition will be levelled. They will be replaced by a school board site, a new high school and a $500,000 covered ice rink.[91] No new housing is planned in the Belmont area. Moreover, in-migration from Kentucky had practically ceased by 1969, underscoring Hamilton's decline as a manufacturing center. The paper industry has stagnated locally and companies with antiquated physical facilites are moving to new locations.[92] The 1970 population was 67,865, down 6 percent from 1960.

C. The East Side

Beginning with a dozen saw mills,[111] Detroit drew upon the Erie Canal, Lake Michigan and an extensive railway network to develop a vast nineteenth century industrial complex.[112] The carriage, wheel and marine engine companies blossomed by the turn of the century into a mammoth automotive complex under the leadership of Henry Ford, Ransom E. Olds and Charles Brady King.[93] By 1926, 77 percent of the work force in Detroit was employed in manufacturing.[94]

Automobile companies, particularly Ford, were quick to exploit the large pool of Southern black labor. Recruiters were sent to the Black Belt and the Delta, flyers were distributed and trains chartered to carry the teeming black population to "Michigan City." Blacks feeling the devastation of the boll weevil, hailed the L and N Railroad to Cincinnati, then the M.C. Railroad to

Detroit. By the beginning of World War I the surge of migration had made the work of labor agents superfluous. Blacks were coming to Detroit by the thousands from Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi[95] to cash in on the "Ford Bonanza:" a guaranteed minimum wage of $5 a day in 1914, $6 a day a few years later.[96] By the mid-twenties, 10,000 black men were employed at Ford, comprising 10 percent of their work force.

From the time Detroit served as a center for the underground railroad to 1910,[97] the city's black population remained small and stable: a mere 6,000 people representing 1.2 percent of the total population.[98] But during the First World War, the black population increased seven fold, reaching 41,000 by 1920.[99] After the war, blacks continued to congregate in Detroit and by 1930, the black population had increased to 120,000.[100] The most sustained in-migration came, however, in the forties when the massive industrial complex was straining to meet the demands of war-time production: over 100,000 blacks between the ages of 24 and 40 came to work in the Detroit automobile plants.[101]

When blacks first came to Detroit in large numbers (1910), they settled close to the factories in an area east of Woodward Avenue and south of Grand Avenue known as "Paradise Valley." They lived with the noise of the factories, with the smoke and fumes. By 1920, many were moving east toward Gratiot Avenue. Blacks infiltrated only a few pockets on the West Side; most remained, crammed into the already deteriorated East Side. In 1919, the Associated Charities reported:

> There is not a single vacant house or tenement in several Negro sections of the city. The majority of Negroes are living under such crowded conditions that three or four families in an apartment is the rule rather than the exception. Seventy-five percent of the Negro homes have so many lodgers that they are really hotels. Stables, garages, and cellars have been converted into homes for Negroes. The pool-rooms and gambling clubs are beginning to charge for the privilege of sleeping on pool-room talbes over night. 102

The Housing Commission reported at the height of the depression that 85 percent of the houses east of Woodward Avenue were unfit for human habitation.[103] During the continuing migration after the war, blacks moved south to the river and east across Gratiot to Mt. Elliot Avenue.[104] Not until the fifties, however, did large numbers of blacks move across Woodward to the better housing on the West Side.

During the fifties, Detroit began to encroach on the East Side. The Edsel Ford Freeway cut across its northern boundary; the Chrysler Freeway formed a new western boundary; and their intersection in the northeast sector of the East Side obliterated what remained of "Paradise Valley." The Gratiot Redevelopment Project, a modern upper middle-income housing complex, replaced some of the neighborhood's oldest housing (black housing).[105] What remains on the East Side is a mixture of industrial plants, older, dilapidated housing (particularly in the areas nearest the Chrysler Freeway) and some decent one and two family homes (in the areas nearest Gross Point).[106] The East Side is now subject to frequent muggings, armed robberies, larcenies and murder, with a fifty square block section in the neighborhood's center singled out as one of the highest crime areas in the city.[107]

D. Summerhill[108]

More than any other neighborhood we will consider, Summerhill is being traversed, strangled and demolished by the progressive development of the city. The principal east-west expressway passes through what used to be the northern part of Summerhill and intersects with the primary southbound expressway in a maze of ramps, bridges and underpasses right in the center of the neighborhood. Route 75 South cuts through the center of Summerhill as well. At least a thousand non-white families were displaced by these roads.[109] Forty-three

acres of Summerhill homes--5,500 buildings--were razed to make room for the $18 million Atlanta Stadium. Surrounded by acres of open parking lots, the stadium reigns over Summerhill as Mt. Vesuvius lords over Pompeii, serving to defy the highways, deteriorating housing and abandoned stores that make up Summerhill.

In addition to this frontal assault is the petty harrassment that has further accelerated the deterioration of the neighborhood. The expressways, for example, serve primarily as feeders for the stadium and as commutor routes, causing a double-edged problem. First, the scarcity of local ramps makes it very difficult for Summerhill residents to use the highways, thus causing considerable traffic congestion within the neighborhood. Second, during stadium events, the local streets are clogged by overflow parking and traffic tie-ups. Consequently, the Model Cities board devotes more of its time to facilitating traffic flow than it does to housing construction or to the maintenance of neighborhood facilities.[110] The old warehouses and abandoned stores on the north end, large truck storage facilities, the scrap metal and junk yards along the railroad line in the south simply add to the blight that surrounds these "public improvements."

Summerhill, now the oldest black community of any size in Atlanta, was not the first black settlement. The early migrants clustered primarily in the "Old Fourth Ward" just to the north of Summerhill. In the 1880's and 90's blacks congregated around the railroad tracks on Decatur Street. Ellis Row, Fuller Row, Edgewood Street and Houston Street. Many came to work for the railroad and settled near it.[111] Decatur Street, now a shell of deteriorating warehouses and empty stores was at the center of black business and cultural life before the turn of the century. Its western end no longer exists: it

has been replaced by new constructions in the downtown area. Auburn Avenue is still a substantial commercial area housing some of Atlanta's most important black businesses (including Citizens Trust and Atlanta Life).[112]

During the twenties, when the great in-migration of blacks began, the migrants moved beyond the "Old Fourth Ward" to Summerhill and the neighborhoods immediately west.[113] By 1940, the black population of Atlanta was distributed almost equally between the West Side, the "Old Fourth Ward" and the Summerhill area.[114] Since the war, however, only the West Side has escaped the consequences of progress. The "Old Fourth Ward" was the victim of downtown expansion. Summerhill was devastated by highways and the stadium. The collapse of the "Old Fourth Ward" shifted the population to the West Side (West Summerville and West Center Hill), the southwest (southwest Sex Hill and Southwest Adams Park), and East Atlanta.[115]

In the face of aging, urban development and the movement of blacks to more affluent areas in the east, west, and southwest, Summerhill has become a haven for poverty and crime. Almost half of the inmates suffer from minor deterioration and an additional third show signs of major deterioration or dilapidation. Fifty-four percent of the residents lived on poverty incomes in 1970, the number receiving AFDC payments having increased 36 percent since 1963.[116] The census tracts that comprise the Summerhill neighborhood rank second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, and tenth out of a city-wide total of 117 on delinquents per 1000 population. One tract ranks in the top six on both day and night burglaries and on murders.[117]

2. Early Centres

W.E.B. DuBois called Philadelphia "[o]ne natural gateway between the North and South." For a hundred years, "slave pedlars thought it a scene of free Negroes and fugitive slaves toward the South, and it decoyed Negroes and kidnapped colored persons toward the South."[107] The black population of Philadelphia had been considerable since early revolution, reaching a pre-Civil War peak in 1810 when slaves numbered one out of ten residents were black. Since 1810, Philadelphia had the largest black population of any Northern city (including New York and Chicago) and of any southern and border city except Washington, Baltimore and New Orleans.[108]

The first substantial wave of black migration came during the last decade of the nineteenth century, increasing the black population in Philadelphia by 65 percent.[109] The influx of rural immigrants in search jobs in the first decade of the twentieth century,[110] but the massive flight from Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina and Georgia in the next seven years pushed the black population beyond 200,000 by 1920.[111] Armed with money to enter the right urban labor market during the depression, Philadelphia, like most other Northern cities, witnessed an accelerated change in the black population in the decade preceding World War II. The War, however, caused black newcomers in the city. The black population increased by 147,000 in the forties, and by an additional 233,000 in the fifties. Over half a million blacks lived in Philadelphia in 1960--almost 35 times the number there in 1850.[112]

Before Philadelphia felt the full impact of mass migration, most of the city's blacks were servants or laborers, a few skilled, though small, group were master artisans.[113] Correspondingly, during the period preceding World War I, blacks came to Philadelphia to work as the unskilled, to live in tenements and crowd with

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[42]Caudill, op. cit., p. 75.

[43]Quoted in Caudill, op. cit., pp. 308-309.

[44]Tyron and Allin , op. cit., pp. 91-97.

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[45]Caudill, op. cit. p. 93.

[46]Caudill, op. cit., pp. 112-115, 125.

[47]Quoted in Steiner, op. cit., p. 12.

[48]McWilliams, op. cit., p. 30.

[49]Frank Tannenbaum, The Mexican Agrarian Revolution (Archon Books, 1968), pp. 2-3, 13-14.

[50]Ibid., p. 32.

[51]Ibid., pp. 30-32.

[52]Ibid., pp. 113-114.

[53]Galarza, Merchants of Labor, op. cit., p. 18.

[54]Tannenbaum, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

[55]Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 122.

[56]Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 399.

[57]Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 400.

[58]John Womack,Jr., Zapata and the Mexican Revolution (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 165-170.

[59]Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 404.

[60]Gamio, op. cit., pp. 164-169.

[61]Caudill, op. cit., pp. 188-205.

[62]Caudill, op. cit., pp. 229, 247.

[63]Caudill, op. cit., pp. 260-261.

[64]Harold A. Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry," in Thomas R. Ford, ed., op. cit., p. 110.

[65]Quoted in Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, Uptown (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1971), p. 195.

[66]Edward E. Lewis, The Mobility of the Negro (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 116; R. H. Leavell, T. R. Snavely, T. J. Woofter, Jr., W. T. B.

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Williams and Francis D. Tyson, Negro Migration in 1916-1917 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), pp. 78-82; and John William Fanning, Negro Migration (Athens, Georgia: Bulletin of the University of Georgia, 1930). p. 22.

[67]Fanning, op. cit., p. 29.

[68]Fanning, op. cit., p. 16.

[69]Quoted in St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis, A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), p. 59.

[70]Quoted in Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, Anyplace But Here (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), p. 158.

[71]Leavell, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

[72]Drake, op. cit., p. 59.

[73]Clyde Vernon Kiser, Sea Island to City (New York: Columbia University Press 1932), p. 158.

[74]Harry K. Schwartzweller, James S. Brown, and J. J. Mangalam, Mountain Families in Transition (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), pp. 153-154.

[75]Galarza, Merchants of Labor, op. cit., p. 47.

[76]Galarza, Merchants of Labor, op. cit., p. 72.

[77]Galarza, Merchants of Labor, op. cit., p. 156.

[78]While the name "Gardner" refers to a specific section in San Jose, the analysis here encompasses a somewhat larger area. Included in addition to the core area are contiguous residential blocks that share the same politics, the same deterioration and the same population pressures. We took similar liberties when defining the boundaries for each of the five neighborhoods.

[79]Eugene T. Sawyer, History of Santa Clara County (Los Angeles: Historic Research Co., 1922), pp. 35-36.

[80]Robert James Claus, The Fruit and Vegetable Canning Industry in the Santa Clara Valley (M.A. Thesis, San Jose State College, August, 1966), pp. 46-48; and Directory of Manufacturers, Santa Clara County (San Jose, California: Santa Clara County Chambers of Commerce, Inc.).

[81]San Jose: Sprawling City (Stanford Environmental Law Society, March, 1971), p. 6.

[82]Joan W. Moore, and Frank G. Mittelbach, "Residential Segregation in the Urban Southwest," The Mexican American Study Project (Los Angeles, California: The University of California). pp. 10-12.

[83]Demographic Data, Model Cities of San Jose (San Jose, California: Diridon Research Corporation, November 12, 1971), p. 50.

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[84]Robert R. Cotant, A Socio-Economic Profile of Santa Clara County (Santa Clara, California: Social Planning Council, 1970).

[85]Neighborhood Analyses (San Jose City Planning Department, 1968), p. 17.

[86]Ibid., p. 47.

[87]This account relies on personal observation and Raymond Hutchens' Kentuckians in Hamilton: A Study of Southern Migrants in an Industrial City (M.A. Thesis, Miami University, 1942), pp. 58-59.

[88]Samuel F. Hunt, "The Miami Valley,1791-1891," in Col. D. W. McClung, ed., The Centennial Anniversary of the City of Hamilton, Ohio (Cincinnati: The Lawrence Printing and Publishing Co. ,1892), p. 93.

[89]Alta Harvey Heiser, Hamilton in the Making (Oxford, Ohio: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1941), p. 94; Richard V. Smith, An Economic Study of the Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana Metropolitan Region (The Hamilton County Regional Planning Commission, 1969), pp.4, 12.

[90]Smith, op. cit., p. 12; and Industrial Survey of Hamilton, Ohio (Owensboro, Kentucky: The Community Development Section of the Sales Department, Texas Gas Transmission Corporation, October, 1968), pp. 4, 12.

[91]Comprehensive Plan: Peck's Addition and Environs (Hamilton, Ohio: City Planning Department, November, 1968), p. 5.

[92]Smith, op. cit., p. 95.

[93]Melvin G. Holli, Reform in Detroit (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 4; The Detroit Free Press, Centennial Edition (May 10, 1931), p. 9; and Arthur Pound, The Automobile and an American City (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962).

[94]Glen E. Carlson, The Negro in the Industries of Detroit (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, December, 1929), p. 94.

[95]Hall, op. cit., p. 34.

[96]Bontemps, op. cit., p. 291; and Carlson, op. cit. pp. 52-61.

[97]Katherine DuPre Lumpkin, "The General Plan Was Freedom," Phylon, Vol. XXVIII. No. 1 (Spring, 1967), p. 65.

[98]The Nonwhite Population of Metropolitan Detroit (Detroit: United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit, 1955).

[99]The surge came in the war years when Italian and Polish immigration had come to a halt (Carlson, op. cit., p. 49).

[100]The Nonwhite Population of Metropolitan Detroit, op. cit.

[101]Ann Ratner Miller, Net Intercensal Migration to Large Urban Areas of the United States 1930-1940,1940-1950,1950-1960 (Philadelphia: Population Studies Center, May, 1964), pp. 25-27.

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[103] Quoted in Carlson, op. cit., pp. 80-82; see also "Negro Migration of 1916-18," Journal of Negro History, Vol. VI, No. 4 (October, 1921).

[104] Pound, op. cit., p. 17.

[105] Carlson, op. cit., p. 72.

[106] Robert Mowitz and Deil S. Wright, Profile of a Metropolis, A Case Book (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962), p. 17.

[107] But even in this eastern segment of the neighborhood, housing is worse than housing generally in the city; almost one in four are in deteriorating or dilapidated condition compared to one in ten for Detroit.

[108] Detroit Free Press (September, 1968) and Report to Mayor Jerome P. Cavanaugh (Detroit: Mayor's Development Team, October, 1967), p. 791.

[109] "Summerhill" for this analysis includes both Summerhill and Mechanicsville.

[110] Elton Morris, The Rehousing of Non-Whites Displaced by Urban Renewal in Atlanta, Georgia (M.A. Thesis, Atlanta University, January, 1964), p. 37.

[111] Planning Atlanta (Atlanta, Georgia: Department of Planning, April, 1970).

[112] Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), pp. 25-26; and Claudia M. Turner, Changing Residential Patterns in Southwest Atlanta from 1960 to 1970 (M.A. Thesis, Atlanta University, July, 1970), p. 23.

[113] Garrett, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

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[116] Planning Atlanta, loc. cit.

[117] Planning Atlanta, op. cit.; and Social Report on Neighborhood Analysis (Atlanta, Georgia: Atlanta Community Improvement Program).

[118] Report of the Atlanta Commission on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency, Opportunity for Urban Excellence (Atlanta, Georgia: February, 1966), pp. 6-7, 121.

[119] W. E. B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 25.

[120] Ibid., pp. 49-53.

[121] E. Digby Baltzell, "Introduction" to DuBois, op. cit., p. xxxix.

[122] Bulletin Almanac 1972 (Philadelphia: The Evening and Sunday Bulletin, 1972), p. 206.

[123] Hall, op. cit., p. 34; and Baltzell, loc. cit., p. xxxix.

[123] Baltzell, op. cit., p. xxix; and Martha Lowell, Philadelphia's Non-White Population 1960, Report No. 1 (Philadelphia: Commission on Human Relations, City of Philadelphia, November, 1961), p. 3.

[124] DuBois, op. cit., pp. 99-102.

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[125] Baltzell, op. cit., p. xxxviii.

[126] In 1917, the "North Carolina gang" was used to bust an IWW strike at a sugar refinery and a strike of foreign workers at the oil refineries (Lowell, op. cit., pp. 129-130, 136).

[127] Bontemps, op. cit., p. 318.

[128] Martha Lowell, Philadelphia's Non-White Population 1960, Report No. 3 (Philadelphia: Commission on Human Relations, City of Philadelphia, December, 1963), Table 6.

[129] DuBois, op. cit., pp. 37, 58.

[130] John T. Emlen, "The Movement for the Betterment of the Negro in Philadelphia," in Miriam Ershkowitz and Joseph Zikmund, II, eds., Black Politics in Philadelphia (New York: Basic Books, forthcoming).

[131] Population of Philadelphia Sections and Wards 1960-1960 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia City Planning Commission, December, 1963) and Lowell, Philadelphia's Non-White Population 1960, Report No. 1, op. cit., p. 14.

[132] Almost 10,000 units have been built by the Public Housing Authority and a 1000 by non-profit sponsors (Low and Moderate-Income Housing Production in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Philadelphia City Planning Commission, June, 1970), p. 28.

[133] Conrad Weiler, Philadelphia: An Urban Profile (New York: Praeger, forthcoming).

[134] Lenore E. Gerson, Case Study of a Riot (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1966), p. 33.

[135] Public Information Bulletin (Philadelphia: Philadelphia City Planning Commission, June, 1969).

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[137] Statistical Report 1968 (Philadelphia: Police Department, 1968).

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